

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**AMERICAN WAR.**—When the French war was closed, in a manner so satisfactory to those who had been its most strenuous advocates, they, nevertheless, perceived the want of a *war*, with some body or other, as being absolutely necessary to the support of that system on which they lived, and which a long war had introduced, and, in some sort, established. It was curious to observe the effect which the peace had upon this description of persons. They *mourned* in their hearts at the success of the projects of the Government. They had been, for years, reviling Napoleon; they had been cursing all those who did not join them in those revilings; and yet they *lamented his fall*. In short, they, as I once before observed, found themselves in that sort of state which our Reverend Divines would find themselves in, if my worthy friend, Mr. Fordham, were to succeed in his strenuous, but, I trust, fruitless, endeavours to persuade the good people of England that there is no such being as the DEVIL.—There were, at the close of the French war, thousands upon thousands who dreaded the effects of peace; who, in fact, were likely to be almost starved, literally starved, by that event.—To these persons, a very numerous and very busy and noisy impudent class, any thing that would keep up the expences of war was hailed with joy; and, as the American war was the only source of hope, in this respect, the outcry was, at once, transferred from Napoleon to Mr. Madison, who now became the devil; the man of sin, against whom it was necessary for this *chosen* and *pious* nation to wage war.—Unluckily for the cause of peace, the corn in England had become cheap during the last half year of the war; and all that numerous and powerful class who derive their incomes from the land, whether as landlords, tenants, or tythe-owners, began to cry out against the effects of peace. With them the American war was better than no war at all. They did not consider what *burdens of taxes* this war would cause. That was quite out of the

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question.—The whole nation, with the exception of the few remaining *jacobins*, went “ding-dong” to work “to give the Yankees a good *heartly drubbing*.”—Things are, however, now somewhat changed. The Kings are gone; the wise-*acres* have had their feastings and rejoicings; the *drunk* is over, and nothing but the noisome fumes left. The people, who appeared to exult at the peace, now seem to wonder why they did so. The nation, after the departure of Kings and their generals, and after the *glorious sights* in the parks at London, seems to resemble a battered old hag, who, in the morning after a rout, sits gaping and yawning, sick of the world and of herself.—Every thing is *dull*; and all appears to be changed for the *worse*; the farmer cannot sell his corn at a price proportioned to his out-goings; the French send us all sorts of produce, down even to garden-stuff and eggs, at half the price at which we can raise them. The farmer cries out at this; the shop-keeper and tradesman revile the farmer and landholder; they rejoice to see them brought down, and at the same time complain that *their own* business falls off; forgetting that this is the natural consequence of the bringing down of the farmer and landowner.—Those who have fixed incomes, and those who carry on no business of profit; those, in short, who are not compelled to remain in the country in order to get their living; a very great portion of these have quitted the kingdom, and have gone to avoid taxes, and to purchase cheap bread and meat upon the Continent.—This has proved a dreadful stroke to all that part of trade which depended upon luxury; and what is worse, the evil is daily and hourly increasing; for, one tells another; one, who has lived in France a *month* for what would have been required to support him here a *week*, tells the news to his relations and friends. A quartern loaf for three pence, a pound of beef for three half-pence, a fowl for four pence, a turkey for two shillings, a bottle of wine for six pence. What news for an Englishman, who has a family, who lives upon what is called “his



means; and who, with a thousand a year, is really in a situation to envy a coachman or a footman! No income tax to pay; no assessed tax to pay; no exciseman to enter your house when he pleases; no tythe of the produce of your meadow and garden, and pig-stye and hen-roost. What news for an Englishman, who, with the outside of a gentleman, lies in constant dread of the tax-gatherer! No poor rates to pay. Nobody who has authority to make you give part of your property to support those who, perhaps, are really less in want than you. What news for the poor Englishman, who is eternally called upon for money by the overseer and churchwarden!—In short, what an escape from expences and cares! No man here can tell on what day, or at what hour, he will be called upon by the Government-agents for a sum of money; and it is only in certain cases that any man can guess at the amount of the next sum that he will be compelled to pay. What a relief to be at once out of the reach of all such demands!—This, together with the cheapness of living in France, cause people to emigrate to that and the neighbouring countries; while all foreigners, of course, have quitted England for their native countries. Those who cannot migrate have all the taxes to pay, while great part of their sources of payment are gone. Thus, that peace, that overthrew Napoleon, which was to bring us a compensation for all our sacrifices, has really made our situation worse, seeing that, in this AMERICAN WAR, we have a ground for continuing all the taxes, while the peace with France has taken from us half the means of paying them.—Amongst those who wished for the overthrow of Napoleon, were those who had to pay ten per cent. out of their fixed incomes to support the war against him. Oh! said they, let him, let that cause of the war be put down, and then the tax on us will cease.—He is put down. He has been put down many months. The tax has not ceased; and, if it cease, some other tax, of equal weight, must be imposed in its room: or, if this be not done, the American war must cease; and that, too, without “giving the Yankees a hearty drubbing;” for, up to this time, they have rather been drubbing us, which is a most lamentable fact to go down to posterity.—To be sure we have, if report be true, given it them upon the *Serpentine River*, where the British naval flag was, every where seen,

flying over the American flag reversed. But, say the Yankee-readers, what does this *Serpentine River* mean? What is the history of this achievement, so glorious to Old England and her wooden walls?—I will tell them. The Regent, in the name and behalf of our “good old King, God bless him,” as they say in their toasts at the City feasts; the Regent, in order at once to amuse and instruct the people of the metropolis, caused, at the epoch of the peace, fleets in miniature to be set on float on a piece of water, in a park near London, called Hyde Park. The piece of water spreads, perhaps, over a space equal to about eight or ten acres. Here the English fleet performed wonders against the Americans, whose frigates they sometimes sunk, sometimes burnt, sometimes destroyed, and sometimes captured. There were some *hottish* fights; but our tars always, in the end, overcame the Yankee dogs; and, at the close of the day, the Yankee flag was seen flying reversed, under the English, in token of the defeat and disgrace of the former.—But, this was not the only instance, in which the Yankees were beaten and disgraced. In Portsmouth harbour, a few days before the Continental Kings visited that port, I saw the Yankee flag flying reversed under the English on board of several ships. The Regent, as I understood, came to Portsmouth that very night. How pleasing it must have been to his Royal Highness to behold such a sight!—The spectators were in raptures at it. They shouted again; and, for the moment, seemed to forget even the taxes.—Well, then, who has any ground of complaint? The Government cannot obtain for us the reality of what was here exhibited in *vision*, without collecting from us the taxes necessary to support and carry on the war; and until we petition against this American war, we can have no reason whatever to complain of the taxes. The question of *justice*, or of *injustice*, seems to have been wholly laid aside, for some time past. The giving of a hearty drubbing to the insolent Yankees has supplied the place of all such topics. But, I do not know how it has happened, there are people, who now begin to ask, *why* we are still at war?—I will, therefore, once more state the grounds of the present war with America, in as clear a manner as I can consistent with brevity.—In 1810, and on to 1812, there existed two subjects of complaint on the part of the



Americans against us. They complained, that, in virtue of certain *Orders of Council*, issued by us, we violated their neutral rights; and also, that we were guilty of a gross attack upon their independence, by stopping their merchant vessels *at sea*, and taking out of them *persons*, under pretence of their being British subjects.—The *Orders of Council* were repealed in 1812, and, therefore, that ground of complaint then ceased. But the other ground of complaint still existed. We continued to take persons out of their ships; and, upon that ground, after divers remonstrances, they declared war against us.—I ought here to stop to observe, that a great error was adopted by the nation at the time when the *Orders of Council* were repealed. It was said in Parliament, and believed by the nation, that, if the *Orders of Council* were repealed, all would be well, and that a settlement of all differences with America would immediately follow.—This assertion I contradicted at the time, knowing that it would prove to be false; because the Congress had repeatedly declared, that they never would yield the point of *impressment*, that being the term which they gave to the forcible seizure of persons on board their ships *on the high seas*. The minister, Perceval, opposed the repeal of the *Orders of Council* as long as he could, alledging, as one objection to it, that it would not satisfy the Americans and prevent war. The advocates of the repeal insisted that it would satisfy the Americans; and, as a proof of the sincerity of this their opinion, they *pledged* themselves, that, in case the repeal did not satisfy America, they would support the war against her with all their might.—This pledge obtained, the minister had no opposition to fear, within doors or without; for the Opposition were pledged to support the war, and their prints became, of course, pledged along with them. The people were led to believe, that it was only the *Council Orders* that had formed the ground of complaint with America; and, when they still found, that she persevered in the war after the repeal of those *Orders*, they set up a charge of treachery and breach of faith against her.—This error, which originated in the desire of the Opposition to beat the minister, has produced much mischief. It obtained favour to the war at first; and, things taking a lucky turn upon the Continent, all idea of dread of America vanished, and nothing was thought of but

punishing her for her insolence.—But still her great subject of complaint existed. She went to war on *that* ground; and, therefore, let us now see what that ground really was.—It is well known, that, whether in language, manners, or person, it is very difficult, if not quite impossible in most cases, to distinguish an American from a native of England. We alledged, that the American merchant captains sailed with English sailors on board their ships, some of them deserters from the English navy; and that, as the American ships were very numerous, and frequently sailed from ports where English men of war lay, such harbouring of our seamen became dangerous to the very existence of our naval force; and, of course, put our national safety in jeopardy.—Upon these grounds we adopted a remedy, which was to authorize the commanders of our ships of war, to stop American vessels *at sea*, and to impress out of them all persons *appearing to them* to be British subjects.—The Americans alledged, that, in virtue of this authority, our officers impressed out of their ships *many thousands of native Americans*, forced them on board of our ships of war, compelled them to fight against nations at peace with America, and in a service and cause which they abhorred, took them into distant climates, exposed them to danger and to death, ruined their prospects in life, and filled America with distressed parents, wives and children.—That this *was* the case, in *numerous instances*, our Government has never denied. Indeed they could not; for a great number of persons, native Americans, so impressed, were, at different times, released by the Admiralty, on the demand of the American Consul in England.—But it must have followed of necessity, that many, borne away into battle or into distant seas, would never find the means of obtaining their release; and, indeed, it is well known, that many lost their limbs and many their lives in our service, subjected to the discipline of our navy.—Those, who are for giving the Yankees a good hearty drubbing, will hardly be disposed to feel much for the fathers and mothers thus bereft of their sons, or for the wives and children thus bereft of their fathers. But, I can assure them, as I assured the Prince Regent in 1812, that the people of America felt very acutely upon the subject; that the newspapers of that country were filled with their lamentations, and with their cries for



vengeance.—The American Government remonstrated with ours; it besought our Government to desist from this practice, which it asserted to be a violation of the known law of nations, an outrageous insult to America as an Independent State, and an aggression, in short, which the American nation was resolved to resent.—Our Government asserted, that it had a right to the service of its own sailors; that the danger to our very existence was so great, that the practice could not be given up; that if American citizens were taken by *mistake*, they were sorry for it, and would give them when demanded by their Government; but that the practice was of vital importance; for, that without it, our navy would be ruined.—This last argument has, indeed, always been the main one with those who have justified the practice of impressment. The American Government, in answer to this, said, 'We do not want your seamen; we would rather that they were never taken to serve on board of American ships; we want none but our own seamen, leaving you yours.—But, if it be really true, that your seamen have so great a partiality for our service and our country as to quit you, or, as to be disposed to quit you, in numbers so great as to endanger your very existence as a nation; if this be really so, it is *no fault of ours*. We cannot help their preferring our ships and country to yours, any more than a pretty girl can help the young men liking her better than they like her ugly companions. The fault is in their *want of taste*, perhaps; but, at any rate, the fault cannot be *ours*.—Therefore, you have no reason to complain of us; nor have you any right to interrupt our commercial pursuits, under pretence of recovering those whom you call your subjects. There are, perhaps, some Americans who have a *taste for your service*. Keep them, in God's name. We never do, and never will, attempt to impress them from on board your ships; and, indeed, we have no right so to do, such a practice being without a single precedent in the whole list of writings on public law, and in all the long history of maritime nations.'—This was the substance of the language of the American Government. But they did not stop at asserting, that we had no right to do what we did. They said farther, 'Nevertheless, in order to convince you of our sincere desire not to employ your seamen, we will

do much more than strict right calls upon us to do.—We think it strange, passing strange, that the Jack Tars of England, the jolly, sincere, brave, faithful, patriotic, and loyal sons of Neptune, to whom that Deity has so long delegated his trident, and who are, as we learn from all your national sayings and singings, so firmly attached to their beloved King and his family; we think it passing strange, that these admirable and single-hearted persons should be disposed to leave your glorious fleet, and to flock to our poor Yankee service; and, we cannot but believe, that some evil-minded people have calumniated your honest, jolly Jack Tars, when they have persuaded you to believe, that the impressment of the jolly Jacks from on board of our Yankee ships is *necessary to the existence of your navy*. However, supposing this really to be the case, we are willing, for the sake of peace, to provide an effectual remedy.—They then made these propositions:—That whenever an American ship was in any port, no matter in what country, any person, authorised by our Government, might go to any *civil Magistrate* of the port or town, and demand to have surrendered to him any man out of the American ship, upon the allegation of his being a British subject; and that, if the Civil Magistrate, upon hearing the parties, should determine in favour of the claimant, the man should, at once, be surrendered to him, though such Magistrate *should be one of our own Justices of the Peace*, either in England, or in any of our Colonies.—And, further, in order most effectually to prevent any British subject from being even *received* on board an American ship as a sailor, the American Government offered to pass an Act, imposing a very heavy pecuniary penalty (so high, I believe, as a *thousand dollars*,) on every Master of an American ship, who should engage a British subject to serve on board his ship; so that any such person, so engaged, would have had nothing to do but to give information, and receive, I believe, 700 dollars out of the thousand.—With this regulation, and this penal enactment, it appears to me, that it would have been impossible for any number of our countrymen to have served in the American ships.—Reader, can you imagine any way by which the American Government could have more fully proved its sincere desire not to injure England by affording a place of refuge to English sailors?—If you can,



state it; if you cannot, I must leave you to discover, *why* these offers were not accepted, and *why* this war was not avoided.—But, supposing these offers not to have been satisfactory, *why* are we not at peace now? The peace in Europe put an end to the *cause* of the dispute.—Our sailors could no longer desert to American ships, when they were discharged from our own. The peace in Europe put an end to the quarrel, as naturally as the cessation of a shower puts an end to the quarrel of two persons who are contending for the shelter of a pent-house. We had nothing to do but to make a treaty of peace, and say nothing more about the impressment of seamen. If the Americans were willing to do this, I am at a loss to discover how the continuance of the war is to be justified.—I am aware, indeed, that it has been strongly inculcated in the *Times*, and other newspapers, that we ought now, now, now, now, while all goes on so smoothly; now, when the tide is with us, to crush America for ever; to clip her wings for a century; to annihilate her means of forming a navy to be our rival on the ocean.—Alas! if this be the project, it is not America that we are at war with; it is nature herself, in whose immutable decrees it is written, that no such project shall succeed.—We must, to effect this famous project, annihilate her woods, her waters, and her lands; and though our Parliament has been called *omnipotent*, its omnipotence is not of that sort, which is requisite for such an undertaking. It can do what it pleases with us in these islands; but it cannot reach across the Atlantic, except by its fleets and armies; except by means of the same sort, which are there opposed to it. Here it is omnipotent, because here is no power to resist it; but there, a power exists in open defiance of it. Therefore, it cannot there do what it pleases.—It is impossible to say what exploits our armies and navies may perform in America. I shall leave the military and naval operations to time, the great trier of all things. But, certain it is, that the gentry, who were so hot for the drubbing, begin to be very impatient. The war, in their view of the matter, appears to *languish*. Little or no blood is drawn. We hear of no fine towns demolished; none of those fatal things, the manufactories of woollens and cottons, have been destroyed; there are still American public ships of war afloat, and more building; and, as to the private

ships of war, they swarm even upon the coasts of the "*Mother Country*," to the great vexation of the *Mornicle Chronicle*, who calls them "*insolent marauders*."—Oh! insolent dogs! come into our own Channel, and almost into our ports! Come three thousand miles to insult their natural mother! I wonder they are not afraid of being destroyed by the "*British thunder*." But, Mr. Perry, why make use of inapplicable terms? A *marauder* means one that goes to seek plunder, *unlawfully*; and if he be detected, he is generally hanged. Whereas these privateers from America come with *commissions on board*. They are fully authorised by the laws of their own country to do what they do; and even if we chance to capture them, we can treat their crews only as *prisoners of war*.—Perhaps Mr. Perry, or his Editor, thinks that we ought to be allowed to destroy American towns, and to lay waste the country without any opposition, or any acts of retaliation. It is not "*insolent*" in us to threaten to reduce the Americans to "*unconditional submission*." It is not insolent in us to say, in our public prints, and under the form of a speech in Parliament by one of the Lords of the Admiralty, that Mr. Madison is to be deposed. In us all this is allowable, and even praiseworthy.—This, however, is not the way to put an end to the war.—The dilemma, in which the foes of freedom are placed, is one of great difficulty.—America is the very hot bed of freedom. While the people in that country retain their liberties; that is to say, while that country remains unsubdued, despotism, under whatever name she may disguise herself, is never safe; and, if peace takes place with America, not only will she instantly start, with enormous advantages, in the race of manufactures and commerce, but millions of men and of money will flock to her from Europe, whom her example will soon again shake to the centre. On the other hand, if the war be persevered in against her, all our taxes must be continued, and loans must annually be made.—Which our statesmen will prefer, it would be great presumption in me to attempt to predict; and, therefore, I shall, for the present, leave the subject with just observing, that those who are still for giving the Yankees a *drubbing*, ought to receive the tax-gatherer with open arms, and greet him with an almost holy kiss.



POLAND.—The restoration of this devoted country to its former rank in the scale of nations, is much talked of as a circumstance which will occupy a considerable degree of attention at the ensuing Congress. The *Courier* seems disposed to throw a damp on the expectations of those who cherish the idea, that Polish independence is about to be recognised; while the *Times* "are happy to perceive that the "idea of re-establishing the kingdom of "Poland appears daily to gain ground."—This latter opinion is founded on the supposition, that the Emperor Alexander is of himself able, and already inclined, to effect this object. That of the *Courier* rests upon the idea, that Austria will not consent to the measure. "The restoration of the kingdom of Poland," says that Journal, "is spoken of with confidence; but this is "another of the measures that will meet "with decided opposition on the part of "Austria. Those who expect much cordiality between Russia and Austria at "the Congress will find themselves disappointed."—Of all the causes of pretended meditated hostility, said to exist on the part of the Continental Powers, it appears to me somewhat probable, if a speedy rupture ought at all to be apprehended, that the settlement of the affairs of Poland is the most likely of any to occasion this. There is something so peculiar in the character of Alexander; something so romantic in this Prince's conduct, that one cannot help entertaining the hope he will listen to the loud and reiterated calls of the Poles, to be acknowledged an Independent State. Besides, the Court of St. Petersburg cannot be blind to the vast security which the establishment of a kingdom, like Poland, on its frontier, would give to its extended empire. Had Alexander adopted this policy before he unsheathed the sword against France, Moscow would have been saved, and the French armies never would have menaced the overthrow of the Czars, even in the Russian capital itself.—Can Alexander; can the Members of his House; can his Ministers, be insensible to the danger which thus threatened them? Is it surprising; nay, is it not extremely natural, that they should be anxious to provide against the recurrence of so great an evil? It cannot be supposed, that Austria will shew much opposition to such an arrangement, if she is disposed at all to consult the security and safety of her neighbours.—

Francis, it is said, will be indemnified in Italy for what he may give up in Poland. But will the Italian States submit to this? Much dissatisfaction has, we have been told, appeared of late in that quarter, from an apprehension as to their future destiny. Will the Court of Vienna, in these circumstances, risk a contest in Italy, in endeavouring to annex new territory to its dominions? Or will it rather prefer a war with Russia to secure what it has, for so long a period, possessed in Poland? These are questions, it must be confessed, not easy of solution, and which, in my apprehension, give some degree of probability to what is said in the *Courier*, that Austria may seriously oppose the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. There is another circumstance, which tends greatly to shew that apprehensions have been entertained, that the supposed views of Russia as to the independence of Poland might probably lead to a new contest. Dombrowsky, the Polish Commander, in general orders lately addressed to his army, plainly intimated, that it was necessary *they should again take up arms*. Why this necessity, if danger was not anticipated in some quarter? Why call upon the Polish soldiers to prepare for battle, if no encroachment was meditated upon their territory? The Poles themselves seem, at this time, to have been ignorant as to the fate that awaited them. They therefore declared it to be their determination *not to take up arms, unless in defence of their own rights*. The answer which the Polish Officers returned on this occasion to the call of their Chief, is a most interesting document. It was dated the 10th ult. and the following are its contents:—"General—You call upon us "again to be ready for war. Formerly "the youth of our country, invited, took "up arms to conquer the rights of the "kingdom of our forefathers. We have "shed our blood for almost all nations; "they deluded us with expectations, and "the blood we have shed has produced no "advantage, except to the adventurers "who aimed only at promoting their own "ends. The remembrance of all our endeavours, which seem to have been in "vain, tear open afresh the honourable "wounds we have received in the service "of our country. There is no Pole who "does not think with tears on the present "occurrences in the world. All Monarchs "are endeavouring to give back to Europe "general peace, its rights, and the



"balance of power. All nations expect  
 "from the attainment of this great object  
 "a durable peace. Poland alone has  
 "hitherto had no share in the general joy,  
 "to which, however, she claims a right.  
 "We Poles, who have given to other na-  
 "tions an example, how one ought to fight  
 "for one's rights and independence, re-  
 "main an enigma to the whole of Europe;  
 "all are full of joy at the new life they  
 "have received; but no single nation at-  
 "tends to the justice of our cause. Un-  
 "happy Brethren! we alone return to  
 "our mournful homes, deserted by hope,  
 "as if all nations intended to cover the  
 "wrongs we have endured, and the splen-  
 "dour of our ancient glory, with the veil  
 "of oblivion. What torture can be com-  
 "pared with this? Why does the Angel  
 "of Peace, who formerly opened upon us  
 "such cheerful prospects, delay to declare  
 "more loudly in favour of our cause, that  
 "he may crown all his great deeds, and  
 "not give us alone reason to lament the  
 "establishment of a general peace. Ex-  
 "plain to us, General, what your measures  
 "mean, and why we must take up arms?  
 "Shall we not spare our bleeding hearts,  
 "when we arm for a war, the object of which  
 "is unknown to us? Ask the Conqueror in  
 "our name, what he requires of us? We  
 "are in his power, but our country alone  
 "can demand our blood. As soon as he  
 "insures to us this country, we will take  
 "up arms for it, and for its generous Pro-  
 "tector. Duty and gratitude will then  
 "double our courage and our national  
 "spirit; but without this assistance we  
 "shall not arm. We declare this, and  
 "are ready rather to submit to the hardest  
 "necessity, to endure the fate of prisoners  
 "of war, than to act unworthy of ourselves  
 "and of you. Such are our sentiments,  
 "our confidence—the national spirit, to  
 "which we are resolved to remain faithful."  
 It is more than probable that this eloquent  
 and impressive appeal, has had the effect  
 it was calculated to produce upon the  
 mind of Alexander, and determined him in  
 favour of Polish independence. If this  
 should be the fact, there is no one more  
 desirous than I am of seeing that injured  
 nation once more restored to something  
 like, what may be called, her natural rights.  
 Alexander may then have some claim to the  
 title of *Liberator*; it may then be acknow-  
 ledged that, in some degree, he merited  
 the appellation of "benefactor of the hu-  
 man race."—But if Austria should oppose

this. If, more desirous of her own aggran-  
 dizement than the independence of nations,  
 she should again plunge Europe into  
 another war, in support of her claims of  
 territorial acquisitions in Poland, I do not  
 think it could long remain a doubt, that  
 such procedure would be contrary to  
 justice, and completely subversive of those  
 principles so recently avowed by the Em-  
 peror Francis, when he marched his troops  
 into France; when he united with the  
 other Allied Powers in declaring, that  
 they were the enemies only of tyrants—  
 the assertors of the people's rights. But  
 why need we speak of justice, with the case  
 of Norway before our eyes? Where look  
 for respect of the people's rights, when we  
 recollect the total disregard of all justice,  
 of all right, and even of mercy itself, in the  
 final partitioning of Poland, in the year  
 1793, by Catharine of Russia, by Leopold  
 of Germany, and by Frederick William  
 the Second? The subjugation of the  
 Norwegians to a foreign yoke, is an event  
 we have all witnessed. The overthrow of  
 Polish independence is more remote. It  
 may, therefore, be useful to recal to our  
 recollection the leading features of that  
 horrible transaction. Well may the  
 Polish people say, that the remembrance of  
 their sufferings "opens afresh the ho-  
 nourable wounds we received in the service  
 of our country," for such sufferings as they  
 then endured are unparalleled in history.  
 Let us hope, while the Sovereigns who now  
 fill the thrones of Russia, Austria, and  
 Prussia, are congratulating themselves on  
 having had no participation in this dread-  
 ful outrage, that a recollection of what took  
 place on that awful occasion may soften  
 their hearts, and lead them to forget their  
 own interests, in their anxious desire to  
 atone for the incalculable injuries done to  
 the gallant and unfortunate Poles.—The  
 existence of the treaty of Pavia, called the  
 "Partition Treaty," by which the fate of  
 Poland was determined, is a subject of dis-  
 pute amongst politicians. Subsequent  
 events however shew, that, whether the  
 dismemberment of that country was settled  
 at Pilnitz, or at Pavia, the three great  
 Powers who participated in the spoil had  
 previously agreed on this, in one diplomatic  
 form or another. Early in 1791 the King  
 of Prussia, in a Note presented by his Mi-  
 nister at Warsaw to the Polish Diet, stated,  
 "that his Prussian Majesty fully approved  
 "of the Revolution in Poland, and gua-  
 "ranteed its Constitution."—In the year



1793, the same Monarch, on marching his troops into Poland, issued a declaration, in which he said, that "the Revolution of 1791 was effected *without the knowledge* of the friendly Powers, and that owing to the Jacobinical proceedings of the *soi-disant* patriots, he must, for his own safety, march an army into great Poland."—After giving so striking a proof of bad faith, it is no way surprising to find the Magistrates of Dantzic committed to prison, by the leaders of the Prussian troops, because they refused to sign an act of renunciation in favour of the invaders of their liberties.—It was in vain that the Polish Government entered their protest against these iniquitous proceedings.—It was in vain that they solicited the interference of the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. It was in vain that they appealed to all the Governments of Europe, and called upon them to resent so "manifest a violation of the rights of nations." A Manifesto of Catharine soon laid open the schemes of plunder and ambition, by which the integrity of Poland was no longer to be respected. Russia, Austria, and Prussia had *agreed to partition its territory*, and therefore it was in vain for the Poles to resist. The other Powers of Europe offered no assistance. They stood by as unconcerned spectators, and *sanctioned*, by their silence, this unprincipled attack upon the independence of nations.—The bayonet put an end to all opposition, and the Polish Diet, surrounded in their Hall of meeting by a Russian army, were compelled to subscribe to the conditions of a treaty, which transferred their country to a foreign yoke.—A bold effort was afterwards made by the celebrated Kosciusko, and a band of real patriots, to deliver their country from this degraded state. At first success crowned the efforts of this gallant and patriotic Chief, and he saw himself in possession of Warsaw, after defeating the invaders in every quarter. Want of sufficient force, however, to oppose the immense legions that were pouring in from all quarters, rendered his efforts useless. While cheering his troops in the field of battle, and exciting them, by deeds of personal valour, to most extraordinary displays of courage, Kosciusko fell, and with him fell the liberties of Poland. The suburbs of Warsaw were carried by storm: and when it is recollected, that the assailants were led on by Suwarrow, it will not astonish any one, however much it may occasion horror and

disgust, that no less than ten thousand Polish soldiers, who had so nobly defended their country, were put to death after they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war! But the bloody scene did not terminate here. The whole inhabitants of Warsaw, amounting to nearly 20,000, were butchered by these ferocious barbarians, without any regard to age or sex; and when they had satiated their savage thirst for blood, they sought a farther gratification to their revenge, in burning the dwelling houses of the wretched inhabitants!! Warsaw thus rendered a dreary waste, it only remained to *sanctify* the deed by a *Te Deum*, which Suwarrow chaunted, with the utmost fervour, to the *God of Mercies*, only two days after the massacres of Praga had been completed!!! Such, in a few words, are the circumstances that led to the extinction of Polish independence. It was an outrage, characterised by every feature but that of respect for justice, or the rights of nations. It was an outrage against the most sacred duties of that religion, under which it was attempted to cover the guilt of the inhuman perpetrators, and to mock the Majesty of Heaven; and it left a stigma upon the names of the principal actors in this bloody catastrophe, which the elapse of time can never eradicate. If Alexander of Russia wishes to present to posterity a memorable example of magnanimity, he will, in good earnest, set about the emancipation of a people who were treated in so merciless a manner by his country. He will not lend a deaf ear to the calls of the injured Poles, who ask the conqueror what he requires of them; but he will justly appreciate the value of the declaration, that, as soon as he guarantees (not such a guarantee, however, as was formerly given by Prussia) the independence of Poland, the gallant, but oppressed, natives of that country "will take up arms for it, and for its generous protector. Duty and gratitude will then double their courage and their national spirit."—Although acting a part like this could be no atonement for the wrongs of Poland, it would go far to banish them from the memory; it would revive the drooping spirits of its inhabitants; and it would give them a taste of that "general joy" consequent on the return of peace, of the want of which they so justly complain, and in which, from the conspicuous part they filled in the late contest, they are as much entitled to a share as any of the Belligerents.

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## THE POPE.

MR. COBBETT,——In my last I promised to give you some account of the rise of the Pope, and the insolent and arrogant domination which the Roman See has uniformly exercised over those kings and people, who were so infatuated as to acknowledge the supreme authority of its intolerant sway. Having concluded my former letter with an extract from a recently published work, which, as I there stated, has been *suppressed* by the strong arm of the law, I find I cannot do better than commence this, by giving you the sentiments of the same writer on the origin of the Papal power. After a rapid, but clear, sketch of the feuds and contentions of the doctors of the church, which disgrace the early part of its history; and after explaining the motives which led Constantine the Great to attach the bishops to his party, our author proceeds thus:—"By this political revolution, so favourable to the clergy, the *bashful* chiefs of the Christians, who hitherto had reigned only in secret, and without eclat, sprung out of the dust, and became men of importance. Seconded by a very despotical Emperor, whose interests were linked with theirs, they very soon employed their credit to avenge their injuries, and return to their enemies, with usury, the evils which they had received. The unexpected change in the fortunes of the Christians, made them soon forget the mild and tolerant maxims of their legislator. They conceived that these maxims, made for wretches destitute of power, could no longer suit men supported by Sovereigns: they attacked the temples and gods of Paganism; their worshippers were excluded from places of trust; and the master lavished his favors on those only who consented to think like him, and justify his change by imitating it. Hitherto the Christian sect, spread throughout the empire, had been governed by bishops or chiefs, independent of each other, and perfectly equal as to jurisdiction. This made the church an aristocratical republic; but its government soon became monarchical, and even despotical. The respect which was always entertained for Rome, the capital of the world, seemed to give a kind of superiority to the bishop, or spiritual head, of the Christians established there.—His brethren, therefore, frequently shewed a deference to him, and occasionally consulted him. Nothing more was wanting to the ambition of the bishops of Rome, or to ad-

vance the right they arrogated of judging their brethren, and incite them to declare themselves the monarchs of the Christian church. A very apocryphal tradition had made St. Peter travel to Rome\*, and had also made the chief of the apostles establish his See in that city. The Roman bishop, therefore, pretended to have succeeded to the rights of Simon Peter, to whom Jesus, in the Gospel, had entrusted more particularly the care of feeding his sheep. He accordingly assumed the pompous titles of *successor of St. Peter, Universal Bishop, and Vicar of Jesus Christ*. It is true, these titles were often contested with him by the oriental bishops, too proud to bow willingly under the yoke of their brother; but by degrees, through dint of artifices, intrigues, and frequently violences, those who enjoyed the See of Rome, ever prosecuting their project with ardour, succeeded in getting themselves acknowledged in the west, as the heads of the Christian church. Pliant and submissive at first to Sovereigns, whose power they dreaded, they soon mounted on their shoulders, and trampled them under their feet, when they saw themselves certain of their power over the minds of devotees, rendered frantic by superstition. Then, indeed, they threw off the mask; gave to nations the signal of revolt; incited Christians to their mutual destruction; and precipitated Kings from their thrones. To support their pride, they shed oceans of blood; they made weak princes the vile sport of their passions—sometimes their victims, and sometimes their executioners. Sovereigns, become their vassals, executed, with fear and trembling, the decrees of Heaven pronounced against the enemies of the holy See, which had created itself the arbiter of faith. In fact, these inhuman Pontiffs, immolated to their god a thousand times more human victims than Paganism sacrificed to all its divinities."

In corroboration of what is here stated, if we look into the history of the Popes, we shall find reason to conclude, that they

\* Several authors have denied, and with much reason, that St. Peter ever set a foot in Rome. In the Acts of the Apostles, no mention is made of this journey, unless we suppose that Luke had omitted to speak of St. Peter, for the purpose of attributing to St. Paul, his master, the conversion of the capital. If St. Peter had been at Rome, his Gospel would have been forced to yield to that of the Apostle of the Gentiles, more accommodating to the heathens, as it dispensed with circumcision. It may, therefore, be presumed, that St. Paul was the first Pope.



were the most abandoned and flagitious of mortals, who hesitated not at the perpetration of any crime to accomplish their purposes. Even Popish writers admit, that no throne was ever filled with such monsters of immorality as the chair of St. Peter. They are described as having been not only detestable in themselves, but as having given occasion, by their example, to the perpetration of all sorts of wickedness, imposture, delusion, oppression, robbery, tyranny, murder, and massacre. Of Pope Formosus, it is said his successor Stephen VII. considered him so horrid a criminal, that he caused his body to be dug out of the grave and thrown into the Tyber. Stephen himself was regarded as equally infamous, and strangled on account of his crimes. Pope Sergius was so far lost to all sense of shame, that he openly kept both the mother and daughter as his mistresses. Like many other modern concubines, these *holy* females (for every thing is esteemed *holy* that belongs to the Pope) regulated all matters of State, and governed the church, as best suited their interest. A successor of Sergius in the papal throne, John XI. is represented to have been the fruit of this intercourse with the daughter, and to have taken his own mother into keeping.—John XII. is accused of practising magic, of paying divine honours to Venus and Jupiter, and of having debauched females on the steps of the altar. He was afterwards deposed by a Council supported by an Emperor; but this act has been censured by some Popish writers, on the ground that no man on earth has a right to judge as to the conduct of the Pope. Boniface VII. is accused of murdering Benedict VI. in order to make way for his elevation to the Papal See. It is indeed admitted by Cardinal Beano, that a bravo, of the name of Brazet, was kept in pay at Rome by his aspiring brethren; and that this *holy* assassin actually carried off seven or eight Popes by poison, at the instigation of those Cardinals who became impatient to fill the chair of St. Peter. Of Gregory the II. it is well ascertained, that he deluged Germany with blood. When the Emperor, in the year 728, issued a decree against the worship of images, this pious villain caused the Vicar of the Empire to be put to death for giving it publicity; and such was the extensive influence which the Church of Rome then possessed over the minds of the people, and the awe with which her mandates were exercised, that this murder, which, in other

circumstances, might have occasioned the overthrow of the Papal power, had the effect of causing a revolt amongst the Emperor's troops, who elected another master. We afterwards find, in the year 1072, another Emperor deposed, through the cunning and knavery of the Pope, and obliged to cross the Alps in winter, barefooted, and in a woollen frock, to ask pardon of his Holiness, before he would sanction his restoration to the crown. This Emperor's offence was his presuming to nominate bishops, and to govern the empire conformably to the practice of his predecessors. A second offence induced the Pope to transmit the crown to another, and to absolve the subjects of the former Emperor from their duty and allegiance. Pope Gregory the VII. equalled, if not surpassed, his namesake in acts of cruelty and insolence. *Innocent* the III. was designated by his Catholic historian, "a lion in cruelty, and a blood sucker in avarice." There is a decree of this Pope, by which he "discharges the subjects of all heretical princes from their allegiance, and gives away their kingdoms to Catholic princes, in order to exterminate heretics."—During the reign of Henry III. of England, it was this Pope who plundered and oppressed the people during the greater part of that silly monarch's sway. Benedict XII. is accused of having purchased the sister of Petrarch from her family, to live with him as his mistress; and it is charged against Pope Alexander VI. that, after debauching his own daughter, he gave her to one of his sons as a mistress, who transferred her to another son, with whom she afterwards lived as his wife. *Innocent* VIII. had sixteen natural children. *Leo* X. used to exclaim, "what treasure the church has derived from the fable of Christ!" Of Pope Paul III. it is said, that he "not only lay with his own daughter, but, to have her all to himself, poisoned her husband."—We all know from our own history, that the arrogance of the Church of Rome had reached to an enormous pitch in the year 1161; for we then find our Henry II. leading the horse of Pope Alexander III., on the one side, and Lewis VI. of France on the other, while his Holiness made a triumphal entry into Tourey, and this at a time too when the papal See was disputed by another Pope, who was as much revered in Spain and Germany as his rival. The sketch which I have attempted to give, is but a faint one indeed of the atrocities



committed by these *pious*, or rather impious Pontiffs. An eloquent writer has said, that "the Christianity preached to the Infidels of the sixteenth century, was no longer the Christianity of the three first ages:—it was a bloody, a murdering religion. For five or six hundred years accustomed to carnage, she had contracted an inveterate habit of maintaining and aggrandizing herself, by putting whatever opposed her to the point of the sword. Burning, butchering, the horrible tribunal of the Inquisition, Crusades, Bulls exciting subjects to rebel, seditious preachers, conspiracies, assassinations of Princes, were the ordinary means which she employed against those who submitted not to her injunctions." Nor will this appalling picture of the diabolical proceedings of the Romish See excite surprise, when it is considered, that it is held *lawful* by the Canons of that church "to kill a Prince who is excommunicated by the Pope, wherever that Prince may be found; for the Universe belongs to the Pope; and the man who accepts a commission of this kind, is engaged in the most *charitable* employment." What Sovereign can be safe, what people can be virtuous, where principles of so infernal a nature are recognised and inculcated? It has been attempted by *modern* Catholics to soften down, and give a more favourable interpretation to the infamous doctrines formerly held and acted upon by the Church of Rome. But if that church is again restored to *unrestricted* power, how easy will it find excuses for reviving its ancient decrees? The readiness with which Pope Pius restored the Inquisition and the Jesuits, when he felt his authority somewhat extended, and the frivolous pretences he assigned for this, sufficiently proves, that if Sovereigns are disposed to permit his Holiness to consult his own inclinations merely as to the lengths he ought to go, there is not one of them but may be obliged, ere long, to *supplicate* permission to reign from the successor of St. Peter—there is not a nation in Europe who will not be prepared to dethrone kings, and to deluge the earth with blood, on a signal given by the Roman Pontiff.

I observe that the Emperor of Austria has so far given way to the solicitations of the Pope, as to issue a decree for the suppression of Freemason Societies in his dominions. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, if the foreign newspapers are to

be credited, has likewise authorised the re-establishment of an Abbey of Benedictines on the Continent. These measures seem to savor too much of an intention to support the papal See in her schemes of universal dominion over the *consciences* of men. Should this be the case, which I earnestly hope it is not, the Sovereigns of Great Britain and of Austria will only have themselves to blame, should they find, perhaps when it is too late, that his Holiness meditates the subjugation of the *bodies*, as well as the consciences, of their subjects. I also observe, that Pope Pius, in the gigantic strides he is making for universal dominion, has published another Edict, for the purpose of restoring all those ancient *Monastic Orders*, by which the Catholic cause was formerly so extensively promoted, and the Popedom supported in its arrogant pretensions to dispose of crowns, and to release entire nations from their oaths of allegiance. A perusal of this document, (of which I presume you will preserve a copy in the *Register*) gives rise to many important reflections; and naturally leads one to make some enquiries respecting a fraternity, whose existence, in former ages, was so prejudicial to society, and who are again threatened to be let loose to ravage civilized Europe. But as I have already exceeded the limits of an ordinary letter, I must delay my remarks on these interesting topics to another opportunity.—  
Yours, &c. AN OBSERVER.

MONASTIC ORDERS.—The following is the Edict, referred to in the above letter, issued by the Pope for the re-establishment of the Monastic Orders:—

Among the calamities occasioned by the revolutions which we have witnessed, one of the most severe, doubtless, is the oppression and almost total annihilation of those religious societies, who formed one of the firmest pillars of the church, and were a fruitful source of advantage to education and science in Christian and civil communities. No sooner was the Holy Father restored to his See than he perceived the pernicious effects which had already resulted, and must continue to result, from that destruction which God, in his impenetrable designs, has permitted impiety to consummate in the capital of the Christian world and in the Pontifical States. His Holiness, penetrated with the sentiments which, as head of the Church, he must feel for all these sacred institutions; guided by the particular affection which he bears them, as a member of one



of the oldest orders, which he has ever gloried in belonging to, deems it worthy of his paternal solicitude to devote all his cares to their restoration from ruin. Many obstacles oppose the accomplishment of his Holiness's wishes; in addition to its being far from easy to collect the religious dispersed in all quarters, their houses and convents are despoiled of every necessary for their accommodation, and the greater part are without revenue.—The Holy Father is occupied with the means of overcoming these difficulties. His views are principally directed to the great object of giving these communities a new lustre by repairing past disorders, and bringing them back to the observance of rules suitable to the holiness and excellence of their profession. To attain this object, his Holiness appointed a commission to investigate every thing that relates to the re-establishment of the regular orders. It has now formed and presented a plan to his Holiness, tending to procure for them the requisite means, and to settle regulations which should be observed in those religious communities! But as circumstances for the moment do not permit the re-establishment of these regular societies in all the Pontifical States, it has been proposed to make a commencement at Rome, where all the disposable convents shall be given them, in which the Superiors may be lodged, and the greatest possible number of Monks assembled. It is hoped, from the religion of the Governments, and the zeal of the Bishops of the Catholic world, that they will patronise the establishment of these asylums of Christian piety and evangelical perfection. His Holiness has approved the plan of the congregation, and has ordered its publication, that all concerned may know it, and may apply to the Secretary of the congregation, who will inform them of the house or convent where they are to assemble.—(Signed) B. Cardinal PACCA, Pro-Secretary of State.—Rome, Aug. 15, 1814.

**FRENCH FINANCE, AND THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.**—Of all the accusations brought against the Emperor Napoleon, there was none more evidently unfounded, or more manifestly malicious, than that which charged him with hastening the ruin of France, by the enormous load of national debt, which it was pretended he had contracted. Were we to believe the tenth part of what was said on this subject by our corrupt press, we might have very justly concluded, in the language of the apostate Pitt, that Napoleon brought his country to the verge, and very gulph of bankruptcy. It was to this cause, the exhausted state of the finances, and the total inability of France to afford him any more supplies, that his calumniators attributed

his want of success, and the necessity he found himself under of giving up the contest.—They had not the candour to acknowledge, that he owed his reverse of fortune to treason and to treachery; that he fell a sacrifice to the unbounded confidence which he placed in those whom he ought never to have treated in any other way than as the enemies of liberty.—No—this would have been shewing too much generosity towards a man, whose conduct, in almost every other instance, put his most inveterate foes to the blush when they reflected on their own crimes.—Necessary it was, that such a man, who, in every step, and in every measure, reminded them of their own errors and omissions, should be put down without any regard to the means of accomplishing this.—The manner, however, in which Napoleon chose, with so much honour to himself, to retire from the busy scene, so greatly disconcerted his persecutors, that his fall did not satisfy them; for ever since he subscribed the treaty of abdication, they have defamed him with as much rancour as they did before. The same charge, of having ruined the country, has been preferred with as much virulence, and reiterated with as much truth, as at any former period; and when the present Government of France lately thought it politic to publish an Exposé, of the state of the nation, it was then that corruption was loudest in its censures of Napoleon, to whom was attributed every *unfavourable* aspect in public affairs, which ought, in fairness, to be traced to the nature of the revolution France had undergone, and to the peculiar situation in which that occurrence, and the length of the struggle, had placed her as to surrounding States.—In the midst of these clamours, no one ventured, except myself, to expose the knavery of these infamous detractors. Though the means employed to obscure Napoleon's fame had the effect intended, I was not without a persuasion that truth would one day dispel the mists, and compel even his most determined foes to acknowledge, that he was neither so bad a man, nor so great a tyrant, as our vile and prostituted press unceasingly represented him to be. That period, I am glad to find, is fast approaching. Not only do I perceive Napoleon treated with greater respect, and more ample justice done to his talents and views, in private circles; but the knowledge, which is every day becoming more extended, of the great improvements he introduced into France, and the im-



nense benefits he conferred on that country, shews that a great alteration in his favour has already taken place in the estimation of the public. Nothing, however, has tended so highly to produce this effect as the development that has just been made, by the Minister Talleyrand, of the *flourishing* state of the French finances, and the near prospect there is of that country being relieved of all public debt, without the necessity of imposing additional burdens upon the people.—The visionary and fanatic writer of the *Times*, who, both before and since the fall of Napoleon, made it his chief study to *deceive* the public on this subject, now speaks of “the *very favourable* prospect which this Budget holds out, of *relieving France from all her financial difficulties in a short space of time.*”—Had the Emperor Napoleon been that “spendthrift and regardless wretch,” which this same writer so often represented him to be; had he scourged, pillaged, and ravaged France, in the manner the good people of this country were led to believe, it would have been *impossible* she could have recovered herself in the short period of *two years*, now assigned by the Prince of Benevente, for settling the demands of her public creditors. Whatever *data* the French Minister has assumed as the ground work of his calculations, and whatever may be the description of claimants he refers to, it is undeniable, that had Napoleon thrown the finances into a state of embarrassment by extravagant expenditure, and unprincipled extortion, the immediate and urgent demands upon the new Government would have been fifty times their present amount. My limits will not allow me to say more upon this important subject—I have annexed the speech of Talleyrand to this article. Almost every line is complimentary to Napoleon, and it will be found highly interesting not only as it relates to France, but as it states many plain and wholesome truths respecting our own country, which I find have already begun to give great uneasiness to the supporters of corruption.

#### FRENCH HOUSE OF PEERS.

SPEECH OF THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTE,  
ON PRESENTING THE BUDGET, THE 8TH  
SEPTEMBER.

GENTLEMEN—By order of the King we present you with the projet of the law on the Finances of the Kingdom. The object of this law is to fix and regulate the public expences of the current year—to provide

in advance for the services of the ensuing year, and to assign the payment of the arrears anterior to 1st April last, from certain funds at determined periods; and in the manner most just and least burthensome. This projet of the law, except some amendments, has been already printed and distributed. When, according to your established form, the House shall have sent it for examination to the Committees, if further elucidations are required, the Ministers will be happy to give all in their power. It is then only that all the details can be entered into, to render the law complete. The only object, therefore, which calls for your attention to day on this subject, is the spirit and outline of the law in question.—You will there see, Gentlemen, that the intention of the King has been not only to provide immediately for the wants of the public service, by establishing a proper balance between the receipts and expenditure, but also to create, in the financial administration, a new regime both with respect to its object and its means. It is new with respect to its object, because it will found the prosperity of France on a real public credit, proportioned to the extent of her resources. It is new with respect to its means, because they are all adopted in the most perfect sincerity: it is the determination to adhere to what has been promised—and fidelity to its engagements, which, this day, become the noble expedients proposed by the candour of the King to his subjects. By this simple proceeding, to the intrinsic power of the State will speedily be added the influence of public opinion. These two powers will lend each other mutual succours; and from their union, when well understood, will result the whole power of a great national credit.—We do not now mean to enquire if public credit, considered in the abstract, is in itself a great advantage. I think so, but this is nothing to the purpose. It is sufficient that it does not exist elsewhere; and as a great arm of strength to render it necessary that it should also be found in France. I can only regard it, in the present state of Europe, with respect to its relative advantages; and as a weapon necessary for opposing the weapons of the same kind of which other nations have taken so great advantage. The Ministers of the King are happy in this august Assembly, religiously approaching the sacred altar of honour raised by the glory of the French arms, to be enabled solemnly to abjure and proscribe for ever all those miserable conceptions, all



those disastrous operations, known within the last century by the names *visa; reductions de rentes; suspensions de remboursements; reductions de valeurs; remboursements; valeurs nominales; mobilisation; inscriptions reduites au tiers; liquidations en valeurs definitives; revisions; assurances de revisions; rejets de rentes par prescription, &c. &c. &c.* France, at peace with the whole universe, ought to aspire to new celebrity. She ought to endeavour to establish in every department of the administration, candour and justice in the exercise of its powers. To obtain this great result, it is necessary to find the means for paying all demands on the State, and to prove that, with the ability, she possesses the will to do so.—*France has now the means of paying all her expences, all her debts, as will be seen by comparing that which she has with that which she owes.* The total amount of the debt now demandable is 759,000,000. The revenue of the year 1814 is estimated at 540,000,000, and that of 1815 at 618,000,000. This revenue is entirely furnished by taxes, direct or indirect, with the exception of 10 or 12 millions, the estimated produce of the Forest Domains. For the year 1814 there will be a deficit of 307,400,000 francs. This is occasioned by the events which preceded the 1st of April, and consequently it makes part of the debt of 759,000,000, now demandable. The expences of the year 1815, fixed at 547,700,000 francs, leave an excess in the revenue for that year of 70,300,000 francs.—The calculations have seemed to some persons to be not sufficiently exact. This desire of perfectness cannot be satisfied. We must for the present content ourselves with approximations; but the House may be satisfied that it has before it the maximum of debt; and the minimum of the receipts, so that if there be errors, they will be attended with no danger. If the results are exaggerated, the surplus, on whatever side it will be, will only be advantageous, since it removes the inconvenience of a deficit, and gives the State the means of improvement and present credit. France has been but little accustomed to this sort of inexactness, which, by increasing the difficulties of the present year, is an alleviation of those of the years which follow. We do not hesitate to declare, that if in the want of extraordinary resources we had been reduced to taxation alone, we should not have the less proposed an entire liquidation. It might have been effected by an

addition of some centimes to the indirect contributions, during a certain number of years, and this effort, in favour of public credit, would not have exhausted the strength of the State. *But we are happy to be able to present you with a mode of repayment which does not require an increase of taxation, but leaves room to hope for a diminution.* France possesses yet 1,400,000 hectares of Forest Land. We propose the sale of 300,000 to effect the payment of the arrears without increasing the burthens on the nation. The produce of the sale of the property of the Corporations, which was previously ordered, and of the other property given up to the Sinking Fund, will be applied to the same object. If supplementary means be necessary, they will be found in the surplus of succeeding Budgets; and that of 1815 presents a surplus of seventy applicable to this end. Amidst all the calculations into which the present discussion leads us, it will be pleasing, and perhaps instructive, to remark, in the relative state of our burthens with those of nations whose prosperity is the most striking, that the situation of France, after so many storms, is still promising. *According to the last census the population of France was 28 millions. Dividing equally among all the annual amount of the taxes, which we take at 600 millions, the quota paid by each is little under 22 francs. In England the produce of the taxes, not including those of Ireland, has risen of late years to at least 60 millions sterling, which, divided among 12 millions of inhabitants, give five pounds sterling, or 120 francs, as the contribution for each individual:—that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France.* In the United States of America the receipts of the Customs, which, previous to the two last years of war, formed almost the only revenue, produced annually 16 millions of dollars. This sum divided among seven millions of inhabitants, gives about 12 francs for each individual; to which must be added the local taxes peculiar to each State, amounting to about 11 francs more, making 23 francs for each individual. Whence it follows in all respects, whether in population, extent of territory, or taxable property, the advantages of France over these nations are great. These relative approximations are sufficient to shew us the grounds of confidence which remain for us, and those which should encourage an



active and industrious nation, like our own, to undertake with ardour all enterprizes useful to agriculture, industry, and commerce. Thus is the question respecting our power to discharge our burthens and to deliver ourselves from debts answered.

"It would seem useless to take up your time with the second question, for having shewn that we can free ourselves from debt, we have shewn that we ought to do it. But, laying aside for the present the consideration of those principles of morality and justice, from which neither Governments nor individuals deviate with impunity, and let us examine if sufficient reasons may not be drawn from the interest of the State alone, for the adoption of the principle of speedy and entire payment of our debts. We must acknowledge that the Government in France has been but little accustomed to make use of the power arising from fidelity to its engagements: and in this respect we must rather accuse the nature of things than the men in power: for the theory of a regular and constant credit can only be established under a representative and constituent Government, such as that which the bounty of the King enables us now to enjoy for the first time. It is because this powerful spring was wanting, that France, situated in a most happy climate, and possessed of the richest soil, covered with a numerous, active, and industrious population, heaped in short with all the elements of prosperity, has nevertheless remained, in some respects, below the level which she ought to have attained. Thus are explained the disadvantages which have attended some operations of the Government in the times just passed, as well as during former periods. The exactness with which the present Government will acquit all its engagements, will give France a new power, which has been too long unknown. *The Ministers have thought that they should give the best pledge for the future; by paying at present the creditors who have contracted bona fide debts with the last administration, and by ridding the future from the embarrassments of past times.*—It was necessary to prove by examples the utility of the honourable system which the Government proposes to follow, and which intends to make the basis of our laws and our financial administration, we may advance the wonderful advantages which other states have derived from it. The first example is still furnished us by England,

whose Government, by an inviolable fidelity to fulfil all its engagements towards its creditors, has remained in a condition, notwithstanding twenty years of war, in spite of the fetters and prohibitions which expelled, from almost every port on the Continent, her ships and merchandize, to borrow every year, for upwards of ten years, at a moderate interest, more than 25 millions sterling—a sum equal to our ordinary revenue, estimated at six hundred millions of francs. And if the state of the exhaustion to which twenty years of Revolution have brought us, be objected against us, I shall answer, by pointing to the analogous example of America where the Government, by following the system which we are desirous to see adopted, had raised itself from the most critical to the most prosperous circumstances.—Emerging from a Revolution and a bloody and ruinous war, that country had yet to struggle against all the embarrassments which a wretched paper-currency entails; the land was uncultivated and unsaleable; the population did not exceed two millions and a half of persons; the Government had to provide for an arrear of seventy millions of dollars; the capital of the debt was sold with difficulty at from ten to twelve per cent. In this situation, the United States, convinced of the great advantages attending a strict fulfilment of its engagements, provided for the entire payment of the seventy millions of dollars. A year after, the same stock, which might have purchased at ten or twelve per hundred of their nominal value, were at par. The public paper was immediately increased 346 millions of francs. This resolution also created, as by enchantment, capital—the first need in a Country after a Revolution of which the effects always are injurious to it. The interest of money soon returned to a due proportion; agriculturists, manufactures, and traders, obtained from the capitalists enlarged assistance, with which they were able to develop all their enterprizes.—If such were the effects of the good faith and strictness of the United States towards their creditors, such and greater must they be in France. It is in France especially that credit and the lowering of interest must produce all kind of prosperity; its situation is such as to need only capital to multiply useful works and undertakings which diffuse lustre and greatness among nations, and are the foundations of a people's prosperity. The Government believes, that it has pre-



pared these happy results by the arrangements which we have the honour to present to you. One of them tends directly to the lowering the interest of money, by causing loans to be opened, for the purpose of buying up or extinguishing the obligations on the Royal treasures; this facility of borrowing gives the Government the means of offering the owners of obligations their discharge, unless they prefer a reduction of the interest. This option will be proposed at all times, when there is a possibility of borrowing at a rate lower than that of the obligations, and thus the high rate of interest on these debts become of no consequence. We must acknowledge, that to complete the new order of things in our financial administration a sinking fund is necessary.—The economy which you may have remarked in all the parts of the Budget, in all the expences of the Ministries, has thrown a temporary obstacle in its way, and it is from respect for such an institution that the King's Ministers have thought proper to defer all proposition in relation to it; they have thought that it was not necessary to run the risk of compromising the success of it by too great haste in its production; for the establishment of a sinking fund derives its strength and usefulness from its permanence and immutability. The law which creates it should be inviolable; a single change of it would cause all the fruit of it to be lost, for by the laws of accumulation, it is time, continuity, and perseverance, which produce the prodigious results that seem explicable only by the science of numbers. I thought proper to express regret, that circumstances have not permitted a measure of administration of such importance to be comprised in the new plan of the system of the finances from its beginning; but I have the pleasure of expressing my confidence, that it will form an essential and fundamental part of the plans of the next year's budget. You see, Gentlemen, to what degree the King is desirous that the propositions of his Ministers, and the acts of his Government, should bear a character of probity, conformable to the elevation of his soul, and which, by providing for all interests, inspires with a just confidence the hearts of all. This is a new era, in which the justice and moderation of the Prince, whose presence amongst us has restored peace to the world, will make us, daily, more sensible to the reciprocal advantages of virtues which may be so easily establish-

ed in France, under the powerful sanction of honour. And may we hope that the influence which the manners of our nation have so long exercised over other people, will render general throughout Europe this moderation, which has become more necessary than ever to the happiness of subjects, and the glory of Sovereigns.

LORD COCHRANE.—In last week's *Register*, I inserted a communication from a correspondent, containing a partial extract from the Address presented to Lord Cochrane by the inhabitants of Culross, with his Lordship's answer. The following has since been transmitted, with a request that I should give it publicity:—

"We, the Inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Culross and neighbourhood, beg leave to offer your Lordship our heartfelt congratulations on being re-elected a member to serve in the House of Commons for one of the first cities in the kingdom; which event may be considered as the verdict of the last tribunal to whom you had appealed from the charges lately preferred against you. While the firmness with which you met those charges has called forth our highest admiration, we rejoice they have now been so clearly proved to be unfounded, and that the cloud which threatened your destruction has been dispelled. In the joy every where diffused on this occasion, none can more cordially participate than the Inhabitants of Culross; and we beg to assure your Lordship of their unabated attachment to, and respect for, the family of Dundonald.

"Calling to mind the many heroic actions your Lordship has performed in your country's cause, we look forward with confidence to a renewal of your ardent and gallant exertions for her advantage, notwithstanding the persecutions you are now suffering. And we sincerely hope, that in defiance of party and faction, you shall again shine forth an ornament to your profession—an honour to your country—and the boast of this place, the ancient residence of your noble family.

"We beg also to express our wish, that your Lordship may speedily forget those sufferings an honourable mind must sustain whilst struggling against gross and unfounded accusations.

"Signed in the presence and by the appointment of the Meeting.

"WM. MELVILLE, B.

"JOHN CAW, Secretary."